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TAGS: PINR, RW, PHUM, PGOV, PINS

SUBJECT: INR ASSESSMENT - RWANDA: SECURITY, WAR CRIMES,  
AND THE RPF

"ROME FOR CHACON AND ALSO FOR VATICAN, LONDON FOR  
MCKINLEY, BRUSSELS FOR DUBROW, PARIS FOR PERLOW, USNATO

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1. SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT

2. INR'S AUGUST 5, 1994 MEMO ENTITLED "RWANDA: SECURITY  
WAR CRIMES AND THE RPF" IS PROVIDED FOR YOUR INFORMATION  
AND COMMENT, AS APPROPRIATE.

BEGIN TEXT

3. RWANDA'S NEW GOVERNMENT, INSTALLED BY THE RWANDAN  
PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF), SUPPORTS IN PRINCIPLE THE IDEA OF  
AN INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL TO PROSECUTE THOSE WHO  
COMMITTED WAR CRIMES. THE RPF IS SKEPTICAL, HOWEVER, OF  
THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S ABILITY TO IDENTIFY,  
APPREHEND, JUDGE, AND PUNISH THOSE RESPONSIBLE. MORE  
IMPORTANTLY, THE RPF, WHOSE BASE OF SUPPORT IS A TINY  
MINORITY OF THE POPULATION, IS OBSESSED WITH SECURITY.

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DESPITE RPF PROFESSIONS OF SUPPORT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, IT  
WILL TAKE "JUSTICE" INTO ITS OWN HANDS, COVERTLY IF  
NECESSARY, AND WILL OPPOSE OR AVOID ANY FOREIGN PRESSURE  
SEEN AS INHIBITING ITS CONTROL OVER THE COUNTRY. THE  
COMBINATION OF TUTSI RETRIBUTION AGAINST TENS OF  
THOUSANDS OF HUTUS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE GENOCIDE AND THE  
DEEP FEAR AND RESENTMENT OF TUTSIS HELD BY MOST HUTU  
REFUGEES WILL EFFECTIVELY STALL REFUGEE REPATRIATION,  
CRIPPLE HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORING EFFORTS AND FAN  
CROSS-BORDER VIOLENCE.

4. INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL: YES, BUT.... THE RPF ON  
SEVERAL OCCASIONS HAS CALLED FOR INTERNATIONAL  
PROSECUTIONS OF THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE GENOCIDE, AND  
THE NEW REGIME HAS ALLOWED A UN "COMMISSION OF EXPERTS"  
INTO THE COUNTRY TO INVESTIGATE HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES.  
BUT LEADERS OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT HAVE RECENTLY  
REAFFIRMED THEIR INTENTION TO GO AHEAD UNILATERALLY WITH  
TRIALS FOR "MORE THAN 30,000" PERSONS THOUGHT GUILTY OF  
WAR CRIMES. IN SO DOING, THEY HAVE EMPHASIZED THEIR  
SKEPTICISM OF THE UN'S ABILITY TO CONDUCT NUMEROUS  
TRIALS IN A TIMELY MANNER.

5. SECURITY THREAT. THE RPF IS MORE INTERESTED IN

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SECURITY THAN JUSTICE. THOUGH TWELVE OF THE 18 TOP OFFICIALS IN THE NEW GOVERNMENT, INCLUDING THE PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER, ARE HUTUS, ITS POWER BASE LIES AMONG THE TUTSI MINORITY. HISTORICALLY COUNTING FOR SOME 14 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION, SINCE THE RECENT GENOCIDE TUTSIS MAY AMOUNT TO LESS THAN FIVE PERCENT OF RWANDA'S PRE-EXODUS POPULATION. SURVIVING TUTSIS ARE ACUTELY

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AWARE OF THEIR VULNERABILITY.

6. DEEP HUTU ANIMOSITY TOWARD AND FEAR OF TUTSIS ARE

DISPLAYED BY THE GENOCIDE, THE PANICKED EXODUS TO NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES, AND THE REFUSAL OF THE VAST MAJORITY TO RETURN. THE RPF/TUTSIS NOW FACE PERHAPS 20,000 FORMER RWANDAN ARMY TROOPS WHO ARE REGROUPING IN ZAIRE AND ANOTHER 3,000 REPORTEDLY IN REFUGEE CAMPS IN TANZANIA. IN ADDITION, THOUSANDS OF HUTU MILITIAMEN, RESPONSIBLE FOR MUCH OF THE KILLING, LIVE AMONG THE MORE THAN TWO MILLION REFUGEES OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY. VIRTUALLY THE ENTIRE 32,000-MEMBER FORMER CIVIL SERVICE, INCLUDING LOCAL OFFICIALS APPOINTED BY PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA, IS ALSO SUSPECTED OF ORGANIZING THE GENOCIDE. MANY OF THESE HARD-LINE "OPINION LEADERS" MOBILIZED TENS OF THOUSANDS TO PARTICIPATE IN THE KILLING SPREE, AND NOW ARE ACTING TO PREVENT HUTUS FROM REPATRIATING.

7. THOUGH SOME HUTU LEADERS PRIVATELY EXPRESS AN INTEREST IN RETURNING, MOST TALK OF REGROUPING FOR A NEW BATTLE TO EVENTUALLY RECONQUER THE COUNTRY. ALREADY, SMALL HUTU MILITIA BANDS ARE REPORTED TO BE OPERATING IN THE FRENCH CONTROLLED SAFE ZONE. HARD-LINE ARMY UNITS ARE REPORTED IN ISOLATED PARTS OF THE NORTHWEST, WHILE HUTU MILITIAS ARE LIKELY HIDING IN THE HILLS OF RPF-CONTROLLED AREAS, STAGING HIT AND RUN ATTACKS AND BANDITRY. THOUGH THEY POSE NO NEAR-TERM THREAT TO RPF RULE, THEY WILL BE A PERSISTENT THORN IN THE SIDE OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT AND WILL MAKE MANY RURAL AREAS DANGEROUS

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8. HUMAN RIGHTS. THE HUTU THREAT--AND THE TUTSI REACTION TO IT--BODES ILL FOR INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS TO PROTECT HUMAN RIGHTS. THERE HAVE BEEN NUMEROUS RECENT REPORTS OF SYSTEMATIC KILLINGS OF HUTUS BY THE RPF, SOME OF WHICH ARE CREDIBLE. THE RPF IS REPORTEDLY ATTEMPTING TO SCREEN REFUGEES AND SEEKING TO IDENTIFY THOSE--BOTH IN NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES AND AMONG THE RETURNEES--INVOLVED IN THE GENOCIDE. RPF FORCES AND TUTSIS WILL LIKELY DISPENSE MORE SUMMARY "JUSTICE" WHICH WILL ALSO CLAIM THE LIVES OF AT LEAST SOME INNOCENT HUTUS. THE CONTINUING FLOW OF THOUSANDS OF REFUGEES INTO TANZANIA SUGGESTS THAT SIGNIFICANT HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS ARE OCCURRING IN EASTERN RWANDA, AN AREA WHICH HAS BEEN UNDER RPF CONTROL FOR SEVERAL MONTHS AND TO WHICH FOREIGN ACCESS HAS BEEN STRICTLY LIMITED.

9. PUBLIC RELATIONS. UNLIKE THE HARD-LINE HUTUS DURING THEIR POST-APRIL 6 BLOOD LUST--WHEN THEY OPENLY CALLED

ON THE POPULACE TO KILL ALL TUTSIS--THE RPF/TUTSIS WILL ATTEMPT TO TARGET THEIR ENEMIES SELECTIVELY AND MAKE AN EFFORT TO COVER UP THEIR CRIMES AND EXTRA-JUDICIAL EXECUTIONS. THEY SEEK THE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AND POLITICAL LEGITIMACY OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND WILL TRY TO RETAIN THE MORAL HIGH GROUND THEY EARNED FROM THEIR 30 YEARS OF REFUGEE STATUS.

10. RPF LEADERS WILL CONTINUE TO PROFESS SUPPORT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, EVEN AS THEY CRACK DOWN ON OPPONENTS, BUT  
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THEY WILL TAKE NO ACTION TO APPEASE THE WEST THAT MIGHT WEAKEN THEIR ABILITY TO RULE THEIR COUNTRY. THEY WILL RESENT THE PRESENCE OF WESTERN HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS AS AN INFRINGEMENT OF THEIR SOVEREIGNTY, BUT ARE LIKELY TO PUT UP WITH THEM--TEMPORARILY AND UNDER RPF TERMS--TO ASSURE THE CONTINUATION OF INTERNATIONAL AID. THE PRESENCE OF LARGE NUMBERS OF FOREIGN HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS--LITERALLY ONE IN EVERY RWANDAN COMMUNITY--COULD LIMIT THE EXTENT OF RPF/TUTSIS ATROCITIES AGAINST HUTUS. BUT WESTERNERS IN REMOTE AREAS ARE LIKELY TO BE TARGETS OF DESPERATE HUTU BANDITS OR INDIVIDUAL TUTSIS RESENTFUL OF FOREIGN INTERFERENCE IN THE DEVASTATED COUNTRY THEY ONCE